DOI 10.1515/islam-2013-0010 — Der Islam 2013; 90(2): 306–346 DE GRUYTER

Najam Iftikhar Haider

The Geography of the *Isnād*: Possibilities for the Reconstruction of Local Ritual Practice in the 2nd/8th Century

Abstract: Regionalism is a key element in narratives pertaining to the rise of the formal Muslim law schools. It is generally believed that these legal schools were influenced by the customary practices of the prominent urban centers of the early 2nd/8th century. Such assumptions are rooted in the Muslim legal works themselves, which distinguish between the legal views of important regional centers. This article tests the purported regional associations of individual law schools by utilizing traditions pertaining to ritual law (i.e., the daily prayer) to reconstruct the dominant practice (or practices) of major Muslim cities (i.e., Mecca, Medina, Baṣra and Kūfa) of the early 2nd/8th century. In the process, it models a method for deriving historical information from newly datable legal source material.

Keywords: *Basmala*, Baṣra, early Islamic history, Ḥadīth, Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs, Ḥijāz, Imāmī Shīʿa, ʿIrāq, Kūfa, Mālikīs, Medina, Mecca, *Qunūt*, regionalism, ritual, Shāfiʿīs, Zaydī Shīʿa.

Najam Iftikhar Haider: nih2014@columbia.edu

Joseph Schacht's 1950 publication of *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* laid the groundwork for most subsequent studies of the history of Islamic law.[1] Focusing primarily on the writings of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), Schacht detailed a series of transitions that culminated in the emergence of the formal Muslim schools of law (s. *madhhab*/pl. *madhāhib*). Schacht's portrait of the transition from local to personal to universal law schools was challenged most directly by Wael Hallaq, who questioned the existence of local/regional law schools and argued that the earliest stage in the development of Islamic law

* Thanks to Michael Cook, Christopher Melchert, and Behnam Sadeghi for insightful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

1 Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

was one of personalized schools surrounding prominent jurists.[2] Hallaq's reformulation challenged the notion of uniform and internally coherent regional law schools, but it did not deny the role of regionalism in the legal writings of early authorities. Even if there were no regional schools, it is likely that jurists residing in specific cities were influenced by the ritual practices of their local environments.

Current scholarly consensus affirms the predominance, in the late 1st/7th and early 2nd/8th century, of individual juristic circles that represented the "living tradition" or customary practice of a given city or locale.[3] By the middle of the 2nd/8th century, there was a proliferation of personalized schools organized around authorities such as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) in Kūfa and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) in Medina.[4] These prominent jurists channeled local practice, even as they relied on *raʾy* (discretionary reasoning or sound judgment) in their legal formulations.[5] Concurrent with the proliferation of personal schools, the Muslim world witnessed the rise of traditionalism, a movement that emphasized the normative authority of texts (i.e., traditions[6] preserving the opinion of the Prophet, his Companions, and their Successors) in the formulation of law.[7] Al-Shāfiʿī rep-

2 See Wael Hallaq, "From Regional to Personal Schools of Law?" *Islamic Law and Society,* 8 (2001), 1–26. Hallaq bypasses Schacht's local stage altogether and asserts the "highly individualistic" (26) venture of early legal writings. His argument rests on the definition of a school as "persons who hold a common doctrine or accept the same teachings or follow the same intellectual method." (5) Hallaq's critique does not impact the fundamental assumptions of this article as I am interested not in the emergence of the law schools but in their regional *associations*. See also Hallaq, *Authority, Continuity, and Change in Islamic Law,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; and Christopher Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunnī Schools of Law*, Leiden: Brill, 1997.

3 The narrative for the geographic associations of the Islamic law schools that follows is derived from Schacht, *Origins*, 6–10, 58–81 and 228–257; Hallaq, *Origins*, 63–68, 74–78, and 153–167; and Melchert, *Formation*, 32–47. I have also incorporated many of the critiques found in Hallaq, "From Regional," 1–26. A similar understanding of the early law schools, informed by geography, is found in Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial, and Islamic Law,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 1–34.

4 See Hallaq, *Origins*, 63–68. Schacht also discusses early juristic authorities from specific regions (Schacht, *Origins*, 228–252). For a later dating of personalized law schools, see Melchert, *Formation*, 1–47.

5 I follow Hallaq in translating *raʾy* as "discretionary reasoning." For Hallaq's discussion of the conflict between advocates of *raʾy* and traditions, see *Origins*, 74–78 and 102–109. See also Melchert, *Formation*, 18 and Schacht, *Origins*, 253–257.

6 The term "tradition" in the context of this study refers to both reports of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*) and those of other early legal authorities such as Companions or Successors (*khabar/akhbār*). This usage was prevelant among 3rd/9th century traditionists.

7 Schacht, *Origins*, 253–257; Hallaq, *Origins*, 69–78; Melchert, *Formation*, 1–18.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

resented a tipping point in the balance of power between these contrasting legal visions and ultimately helped establish the superiority of the traditionalist position.[8] Over the course of the next few centuries, personalized law schools were superseded by (or transitioned into) universal schools of law that increasingly justified their views on the basis of traditions[9]

Regionalism is a central element in the legal narrative presented above. The legal schools that spread throughout the Muslim world were likely influenced by the customary practices of the prominent urban centers of the early 2nd/8th century. It is these connections between law school and city that lie at the heart of this article. In the analysis that follows, I test the purported regional associations of individual law schools by utilizing traditions pertaining to ritual law (i.e., the daily prayer) to reconstruct the dominant practice (or practices) of major Muslim cities (i.e., Mecca, Medina, Baṣra and Kūfa) of the early 2nd/8th century. I am primarily interested in whether a school's position on an issue aligns with the practice of the city and/or region of its reported origins.

The first section of the article outlines the early regional associations of four Sunnī and two Shīʿī law schools. The second section describes the central methodology employed in this study and includes a general discussion of the dating of traditions. The third and fourth sections present two case studies related to the daily prayer, consisting of (a) a legal summary of a given issue, (b) an analysis of the traditions pertaining to that issue and (c) an assessment of the assumed geographical origins of individual law schools.

1 The Geographical Associations of Law Schools

This article focuses on four Sunnī (i.e., Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī) and two Shīʿī (i.e., Imāmī[10] and Zaydī) schools of law. Each of these schools is associ-

8 See *EI*^{2}, s.v. "al-Shāfiʿī," (Chaumont) and the sources mentioned therein. For a contrasting view that diminishes the importance of al-Shāfiʿī in the earliest articulations of legal methodology, see, Hallaq, *Origins*, 113–149 and Hallaq, "Was al-Shāfiʿī the Master Architect of Islamic Jurisprudence," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25 (1993), 587–605. See also the doctoral dissertation of Ahmed El Shamsy, *From Tradition to Law: The Origins and Early Development of the Shāfiʿī School of Law in 9th century Egypt* (Harvard University Ph.D., 2009), particularly 47–76.

9 The dating of this transition depends on identifying the seminal features of the formal Muslim law school (*madhhab*). See, for example, Hallaq, *Origins*, 150–177.

10 There is a considerable problem in terminology when dealing with the early Shīʿī community. I follow Kohlberg's formulation, using "Imāmī" to denote "the earliest manifestation of the sect

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

ated with a specific city or region. The strength of this association, however, varies with the earliest schools strongly tied to a local context and the later schools characterized by a degree of ambiguity. The discussion that follows examines the links between law school and city/region and identifies the most likely choice for a particular school's geographical affiliation.

The strongest connections between law school and city are asserted with respect to the earliest of the Sunnī law schools, namely the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs. Although the views and methodological assumptions of these schools evolved over time, they traced their origins back to eponyms who were closely associated with specific cities in the middle of the 2nd/8th century. Recall that this period marked the emergence of personal schools of law, so that these eponyms were likely involved in collecting and systematizing the customary practices of their respective cities. Abū Ḥanīfa lived in Kūfa and utilized discretionary reasoning together with traditions from previous authority figures in his legal writings.[11] Mālik b. Anas employed a similar methodology, albeit placing a greater emphasis on the established local practice of his home city of Medina.[12]

---

that we today refer to as the Imāmī-Twelvers." In the 2nd/8th century, the term "Imāmī" included those sects (e.g., the Wāqifiyya) who had not yet broken off to form independent groups, and it should not be taken as referring *exclusively* to the antecedents of the modern Imāmī-Twelver community. See Etan Kohlberg, "From Imāmiyya to Ithnā-ʿAshariyya," *Bulletin of the School or Oriental and African Studies*, 39 (1976) 521–534 and Kohlberg, "Early Attestations of the term ʿIthnā ʿAshariyya," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 24 (2000) 343–357.

11 For early Ḥanafism, see *EI*[3], s.v. "Abū Ḥanīfa," (Yanagihashi) and the sources mentioned therein. Christopher Melchert [Christopher Melchert, "How Ḥanafism Came to Originate in Kūfa and Traditionism in Medina," *Islamic Law and Society* 6 (1999), 318–347] proposes an alternative narrative that challenges the connection between the Ḥanafīs and Kūfa. Specifically, he claims that Ḥanafism developed primarily in Baghdād, while Kūfa remained firmly traditionalist within the bounds of traditionalism. It was only when a group of Mālikī Baṣrans began asserting a link to Medina that Baghdādī Ḥanafīs responded by tracing their origins to Kūfa. In making this argument, Melchert is contesting the existence of a fundamental legal rift between ʿIrāq (through its use of *raʾy*) and the Ḥijāz (through its affirmation of traditions). See also, Melchert, *Formation*, 48–67. Nurit Tsafrir [*The History of an Islamic School of Law*,Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program of Harvard Law School, 2004, 17–27] depicts 2nd/8th century Kūfa as split between traditionalists and the *ahl al-raʾy* but emphasizes the diversity within both currents. The traditionalists surrounded famous personalities such as Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) and Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth (d. 194/809–10), while the *ahl al-raʾy* focused on the teachings of jurists such as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) or Ibn Abī Layla (d. 148/765). See also Behnam Sadeghi, *The Logic of Law-Making in Islam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

12 For early Mālikism, including a comprehensive discussion of Medinan living tradition (*ʿamal*) as a source of law, see *EI*[2], s.v. "Mālik b. Anas," (Schacht); *EI*[2], s.v. "Mālikiyya," (Cottart); El Shamsy, *Tradition*, 10–14 and 33–46. Dutton has written several works which make substantively identical points about early Mālikism. See, for example, Dutton, "Sunna, Ḥadīth, and

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

In subsequent legal polemics, the Ḥanafīs were forwarded as advocates of the views of Kūfa (and sometimes ʿIrāq as a whole), and the Mālikīs were described as proponents for the views of Medina.[13] Despite such equations, it is important to bear in mind that Ḥanafī and Mālikī views did not constitute the entirety of Kūfan and Medinan legal opinions; rather, they represented just one of (potentially) many ritual practices endemic to each city. In Kūfa, for example, the jurists Ibn Abī Layla (d. 148/765) and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) garnered large followings, while Medina was home to a number of prominent jurists, including the Shīʿī Imāms, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114 or 117/732 or 735) and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765).[14] The most relevant point for the current study, however, is the purported connection between (a) Ḥanafī practice and Kūfa and (b) Mālikī practice and Medina, which is routinely asserted by both pre-modern and modern scholars of Islamic law.

The geographical affiliation of the Shāfiʿīs is more problematic than that of the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs. This is partly because al-Shāfiʿī, the eponym of the school, is widely credited with transcending regionalism through a subordination of local practice to the normative authority of textual evidence.[15] He was particularly critical of both Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik for their (a) use of discretionary reasoning and (b) recourse to local practice as source of law.[16] In this regard, as mentioned previously, al-Shāfiʿī represented the growing power of a traditionalist position that reflected more universalist tendencies grounded in text. The Shāfiʿī law school that was elaborated and developed by al-Shāfiʿī's students retained this trans-regional perspective. In spite of his criticisms of local practice, however, al-Shāfiʿī was clearly a product of a very particular local scholarly context.

Madinan ʿAmal," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 4 (1993), 1–31 and particularly, 5–14 and Dutton, *Origins of Islamic Law*, Surrey: Curzon, 1999. Sayeed Rahman discusses the work of Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 386/996), one of the most influential Mālikī jurists in North Africa, in his unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled *The Legal and Theological Thought of Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani* (Yale University Ph.D., 2009). The apparent disparity between Medinan practice and Medinan traditions created an opening for competing schools to question the integrity of Medinan living tradition. For an example of this type of criticism, see Najam Haider, "Muʿāwiya in the Ḥijāz," in *Law and Tradition in Classical Islamic Thought*, ed. Michael Cook et al., New York: Palgrave, 2012, 37–54.

13 For regionalism and these early law schools, see note 3.

14 For Kūfa, see Tsafrir, *History*, 17–27. For Medina, see Schacht, *Origins*, 243–249. The Shīʿa are discussed in greater detail below.

15 For al-Shāfiʿī and early Shāfiʿism, see *EI²*, s.v. "al-Shāfiʿī," (Chaumont); *EI²*, s.v. "al-Shāfiʿiyya," (Chaumont); Hallaq, *Origins*, 113–21; Melchert, *Formation*, 68–82; El Shamsy, *Tradition*, 47–76 and 117–56.

16 Schacht, *Origins*, 6–10 and 58–81; El Shamsy, *Tradition*, 47–76.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

He spent his formative years in Medina studying under Mālik, whom he referred to as his most important teacher. Moreover, al-Shāfiʿī identified himself as a representative of the Medinan school and eventually settled in Egypt, a region known for its close ties to Medina.[17] Such a self-characterization is quite important, especially from a figure who was clearly well-acquainted with the local practices of many of the urban centers of his time (e.g., Mecca, Kūfa, Baṣra). Overall, the most likely (albeit far from definitive) regional influence for Shāfiʿī practices appears to be Medina.

The fact that the Ḥanbalī school of law emerged later than the other law schools complicates attempts at associating it with any regional center at the start of the 2nd/8th century. Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the eponym of the school, was a strict advocate of traditionalism and travelled widely in ʿIrāq and the Ḥijāz gathering traditions.[18] Eventually, he returned to his home city of Baghdād (founded in 144/762) and disseminated those traditions to students who – in subsequent generations – formulated the central tenets of the Ḥanbalī law school. There is no indication of a regional bias in Ibn Ḥanbal's legal works, which appear to bring together traditions from a variety of urban centers in the Muslim world.[19] Moreover, in contrast to al-Shāfiʿī, Ibn Ḥanbal did not claim an affiliation with the local tradition of any city. This is hardly surprising given his traditionalist perspective, but it complicates attempts at connecting his views to an early urban center. Although it is tempting to assert an association between the Ḥanbalīs and ʿIrāq (as a whole) or Kūfa (in particular), such a claim is highly conjectural. For purposes of comparison, however, this article will evaluate the connection between Ḥanbalī practice and ʿIrāq (broadly conceived as consisting of Kūfa and Baṣra), albeit with an understanding of the school's potentially universalist leanings.

There are two distinct possibilities for the geographical associations of the Imāmīs and the Zaydīs, two Shīʿīlaw schools that claim origins in the early to mid-2nd/8th century.[20] Recall from the earlier discussion of the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs that this period witnessed the proliferation of personalized law schools.

17 *EI*², s.v. "al-Shāfiʿī," (Chaumont); Schacht, *Origins*, 9.

18 For Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and early Ḥanbalism, see *EI*³, s.v. "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal" (Holtzman) and the sources mentioned therein. See also, Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 107–53; Nimrod Hurvitz, *The Formation of Ḥanbalism*, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002.

19 The chains of transmission in the *Musnad* appear to favor an ʿIrāqī provenance as noted by Christopher Melchert in "The *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal," *Der Islam*, 82 (2005),

20 For early Imāmī and Zaydī Shīʿism, see Najam Haider, *The Origins of the Shīʿa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, particularly 3–23 and 189–230.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

The Imāmīs traced the Imāmate exclusively through a line of Ḥusaynid ʿAlids and appeared to first materialize around the figures of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq in the early 2nd/8th century. The vast majority of the early Imāmīs lived in Kūfa and could only communicate with their Medinan Imāms through correspondence mediated by merchants, travelers and pilgrims.[21] The disparity between a Kūfan community and a Medinan Imām leaves open the question of whether the ritual practice of the Imāmīs aligned with that of Kūfa or Medina. A similar dynamic informs the Zaydīs, who trace their origins to the failed revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (d. 122/740). As with the Imāmīs, a majority of Zaydīs appear to have lived in Kūfa in the 2nd/8th century, although they deferred to Medinan ʿAlids for religious guidance. Again, it is difficult to align the Zaydīs with either Kūfa or Medina with any degree of confidence.

Table 1 summarizes the geographical associations outlined in this section. The strongest connections between city and school are those of the Ḥanafīs to Kūfa and the Mālikīs to Medina. The case of the Shāfiʿīs is more ambiguous, though there are strong indications of the school's ties to Medina. As a later school, the Ḥanbalīs seem to embody a universal perspective that transcends regional affiliation but they were (literally) based in ʿIrāq. On the Shīʿī side, both the Imāmīs and the Zaydīs were divided between a possible connection to Kūfa (where most members of their communities resided) and Medina (the home of their legal authorities).

Table 1: Geography and the Law Schools

Law school	Geographical associations	Strength
Ḥanafīs	Kūfa	Strong
Mālikīs	Medina	Strong
Shāfiʿīs	Medina	Moderate
Ḥanbalīs	ʿIrāq (regional)	Weak
Imāmīs/Zaydīs	Kūfa (community) and Medina (Imāms)	Both potentially strong

21 Modarressi notes that "the Ḥijāz, generally speaking, was never a Shīʿite land. Some reports suggest that during the late Umayyad period, only four Shīʿites lived in Mecca and fewer than 20 in Mecca and Medina combined." See Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, Oxford: One World, 2003, 1:39, note 1.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

2 Methodology

The method employed in this study is predicated on the assumption that most traditions are reliably dateable to the early 2nd/8th century. A few decades ago, such a statement may have aroused considerable controversy, but recent work has demonstrated that wide scale fabrication was not the norm in this period. The discussion that follows begins with a survey of the growing evidence for the veracity of chains of transmission in the early 2nd/8th century. It then summarizes the methodological approach employed in the two case studies that follow.

A Scholarship on the Dating of Traditions

Harald Motzki's *Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence* is one of the most important recent studies on the dating of traditions.[22] Motzki focuses on ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī's (d. 211/827) collection of traditions to reconstruct the legal practices and juristic circles of 1st/7th and 2nd/8th century Mecca. To carry out this project, Motzki first attempts to corroborate the veracity of the chains of transmission attached to specific traditions. He does this through a close analysis of the internal structure of one section of the *Muṣannaf*. Specifically, he divides traditions into four groups based on ʿAbd al-Razzāq's most important informants and then demonstrates that each group of traditions is characterized by a distinct internal structure and style. In other words, the material ascribed to each informant is idiosyncratic and evokes a unique authorial voice. If ʿAbd al-Razzāq was simply fabricating chains of transmission, then there should be no pattern in the corpora of traditions attached to each authority figure. The presence of such patterns strongly suggests faithful transmission. Motzki then repeats this exercise for the texts ascribed to each of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's informants, demonstrating that traditions were faithfully transmitted and recorded in written[23] sources at least as early as the start of the 2nd/8th century.[24]

22 The summary of Motzki's work that follows is based on both Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, trans. Marion Katz, Leiden: Brill, 2002 and Motzki, "The *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī as a source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 60 (1991) 1–21. The latter provides a useful summary of both methods and results.

23 The actual form and nature of these written sources remains an issue of debate. While Schoeler asserts that the impetus for works organized in the manner of a *muṣannaf* emerged in the early 2nd/8th century, he also notes that the societal norm was to transmit knowledge in public through audition without the use of any written aids. This suggests a limited degree of fluidity in these texts which were bound by the presence of lecture notes or memory aids that were kept

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

A second approach to the dating of traditions that argues for the reliability of chains of transmission in the early 2nd/8th century is the *isnād-cum-matn* method employed by (among others) Iftikhar Zaman and Gregor Schoeler.[25] This hybrid method attempts to correlate information drawn from chains of transmission with that taken from the content of a given report. Specifically, it (a) identifies the common link[26] for a given report and then (b) compares its broader transmission history to textual variants. An alignment between chains of transmission and variations in content provides strong evidence against fabrication. In

at home (Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam*, trans. Shawkat Toorawa, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009, 5). It appears that these traditions were being transmitted in a mixed oral-written manner from one transmitter to the next. This allows for the possibility of limited changes in the text in the course of transmission but argues against the thesis of wholesale fabrication. See also, Michael Cook, "The Opponents of the Writing of Tradition in Early Islam," *Arabica*, 44 (1997), 489; M. Azmi, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1978, 18–27.

24 While Motzki focuses on the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, his conclusions are suggestive for other collections, such as those of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) and al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), as mass fabrication became more difficult with the passage of time. See also, Motzki, "The Jurisprudence of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī," in H. Motzki with N. Boekhoff and Sean Anthony, *Analysing Muslim Traditions*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 1–46, which discusses both ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* and Māik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*. This work was first published in German as "Der Fiqh des -Zuhrī: die Quellenproblematik," *Der Islam*, 68 (1991), 1–44.

25 For Zaman, see *The Evolution of a Ḥadīth* (University of Chicago Ph.D dissertation, 1989) and Zaman, "The Science of *Rijāl* as a method in the Study of *Ḥadīth*s," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 5 (1994) 1–34. For Schoeler, see *The Biography of Muḥammad*, trans. Uwe Vagelpohl, New York: Routledge, 2011. Another early proponent of this method is Harald Motzki, who first used it in his 1991 article entitled "Der Fiqh des -Zuhrī," 29–42, and further developed it in "*Quo vadis Ḥadīt*-Forschung?" *Der Islam*, 73 (1996), 40–80 and 193–231, and "Der Prophet und die Schuldner," *Der Islam*, 77 (2000) 1–83. For more recent examples, see Motzki, "The Murder of Ibn Abī l-Huqayq," in *The Biography of Muḥammad*, ed. Harald Motzki, Leiden: Brill, 2000, 170–239 and Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 22 (1998), 18–83. See also, Andreas Görke, "The Historical Tradition about al-Hudaybiya," in *The Biography of Muḥammad*, ed. Harald Motzki, Leiden: Brill, 2000, 240–275. There are numerous studies that employ a similar approach.

26 For common links and their potential use in the dating of traditions, see G. H. A. Juynboll, "Some *Isnād*-Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Several Women-Demeaning Sayings from *Ḥadīth* Literature," *Al-Qantara*, 10 (1989), 343–383; Juynboll, "Some Notes on Islam's First *Fuqahāʾ* Distilled From Early *Ḥadīth* Literature," *Arabica*, 39 (1992), 287–314; Juynboll, "Early Islamic Society as Reflected in Its Use of *Isnād*s," *Le Muséon*, 107 (1994), 151–194. See also, Schacht, *Origins*, 163–172. This method of dating was criticized by Michael Cook in *Early Muslim Dogma*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 107–116. For responses to Cook, see Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions," *Arabica*, 52 (2005), 204–253 and A. Görke, "Eschatology, History, and the Common Link," in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. H. Berg, Leiden: Brill, 2003, 179–208.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

such an analysis, differences in the wording of traditions are attributed to the nature of transmission in the early period. Schoeler claims that such a method can help verify the veracity of *isnād*s well into the 1st/7th century.[27]

Behnam Sadeghi offers a third approach that is related to the *isnād-cum-matn* method but employs a different set of criteria in assessing the veracity of chains of transmission.[28] Sadeghi is particularly interested in the relationship between traditions and regionalism. He classifies traditions on the basis of their use of particular stylistic conventions, word choice, and legal positions. These clusters are then used to (a) reconstruct the local conventions/views of early Muslim cities and (b) evaluate the reliability of chains of transmission for individual traditions. In a first attempt to apply this approach to the dating of traditions, Sadeghi has argued for the potential 1st/7th century provenance of at least three traditions pertaining to women and prayer.[29] Sadeghi's work is particularly pertinent for the current study due to its concern with regional differences.[30]

The approaches discussed above have contributed to a growing scholarly view that traditions were being recorded without wholesale fabrication in the early 2nd/8th century Muslim world.[31] They have also created new possibilities for scholars of early Islam. Some of these traditions focus on political watersheds, military rebellions or controversies at the heart of important theological polemics, making their use in historical research potentially problematic. Such texts are particularly vulnerable to tampering as political or theological factions may have utilized them in an attempt to discredit their rivals. Many of these traditions, however, focus on issues of ritual law, such as the proper methods for ablution and prayer, the rites of pilgrimage and dietary restrictions which appear less prone to forgery or fabrication.[32] The case studies that follow make use of this latter category of traditions to (a) reconstruct local ritual practices of the early and mid-2nd/8th century and (b) assess the validity of the ascribed regional associations between law school and city.

---

27 Studies employing the *isnād-cum-matn* approach routinely trace traditions into the 1st/7th century. See Schoeler, *Biography*, 114.

28 Behnam Sadeghi, "The Traveling Tradition Test," *Der Islam*, 85 (2010), 203–242.

29 Sadeghi, "Traveling," 237.

30 Whereas Sadeghi groups traditions based on common features and then ascribes those similarities to specific cities, I group traditions based on the regional associations of their transmitters and then utilize them to reconstruct the ritual practices of specific cities.

31 This is not to say that there were no forgeries but that the burden of proof with respect to these texts falls on those who claim fabrication.

32 See Scott Lucas, "Divorce, *Ḥadīth*-Scholar Style," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 19 (2008), 364–365 and Lucas, "Where are the Legal *Ḥadīth*," *Islamic Law and Society*, 15 (2008), 307–314. In the latter, Lucas makes a strong case against systematic forgery in legal traditions.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

B Step 1 – Sources

The traditions utilized in this study are drawn from the six Sunnī canonical collections as well as a number of non-canonical Sunnī works (see Table 2). Each of these collections includes texts from a variety of urban locations, reflecting the breadth of an author's pursuit of religious knowledge. Compilers would travel far and wide to find teachers who had preserved unique accounts or were renowned for their possession of the shortest and most direct chains of transmission from a prominent authority. It is this geographical diversity that lies at the core of the present study as I attempt to locate traditions in specific urban locations based on the 'travel history' embedded in their respective *isnād*s.

The most significant omission from the list of sources is the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. Its exclusion derives from its minimal numerical contribution to the two selected case studies (resulting from an overlap with other cited works) as compared with, for example, Ibn Abī Shayba's (d. 235/849) *Muṣannaf*.[33] The inclusion of al-Bayhaqī, whose work is quite late, is based on his tendency to cite unique chains of transmission not found elsewhere. In a very limited number of instances, I also make use of singular traditions found in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's (d. 463/1070) *al-Istidhkār*.

The Shīʿī collections are another notable absence from the current study.[34] I have chosen to exclude them for a number of reasons, including (a) their overwhelming unanimity on a single ritual law position, (b) their reliance on Medinan authorities from the middle of the 2nd/8th century and (c) their rapid diffusion into urban centers beyond the scope of the current study (e.g., Rayy, Nīshāpūr and Qum in Iran). While the Shīʿī sources are certainly useful in a geographical analysis, they raise different sets of questions and require a slightly modified type of analysis. This is expected of traditions that preserve the answers of Imāms in Medina to questions from followers in Kūfa and other Shīʿī strongholds. In the analysis that follows, Shīʿī traditions are mentioned in those cases where they help explain particular conclusions.

33 For a detailed analysis of Ibn Abī Shayba's work, see Lucas, "Where," 283–314. Although Lucas' article does not focus on the issue of authenticity, it does include an argument against the wholesale fabrication of traditions by Ibn Abī Shayba ("Where," 308 and, especially, note 105).
34 I have analyzed the Shīʿī traditions in other publications. See Haider, *Origins*, 57–188 and my doctoral dissertation entitled *The Birth of Sectarian Identity in 2nd/8th century Kūfa* (Princeton University Ph.D. Dissertation, 2007), 93–102, 192–205 and 320–329.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Table 2: – Sources

Author/Compiler	Work
Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795)	*Al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804–5)	*Kitāb al-āthār*
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203/819–20)	*Musnad*
ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/837)	*Muṣannaf*
Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849)	*Muṣannaf*
Saḥnūn ʿAbd al-Salām b. Saʿīd (d. 240/854)	*al-Mudawwana al-kubrā*
Al-Dārimī (d. 255/869)	*Sunan*
*Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870)	*Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*
*Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875)	*Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*
*Ibn Māja (d. 273/887)	*Sunan*
*Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889)	*Sunan*
*Al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892)	*Sunan*
*Aḥmad b. Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915)	*Sunan*
Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066)	*al-Sunan al-kubrā*

The symbol (*) denotes the six canonical collections.

C Step 2 – The Geography of the Isnād

The process of linking a tradition to a 2nd/8th-century urban center begins with an investigation of each individual in a given chain of transmission with an emphasis on his/her geographical affiliation. On the basis of this information, it is possible to determine the city (or cities) where a given tradition was present at the start (and into the middle) of the 2nd/8th century. This is accomplished by prioritizing that segment of a chain of transmission located in the early and mid-2nd/8th century and, specifically, those transmitters who lived between 100/718 and 150/767. A few examples may help clarify this process.

Some cases are fairly straightforward. Take, for example, a chain of transmission that begins with an authority figure in Medina (e.g., the Prophet), proceeds to Baṣra through a Companion (e.g., Anas b. Mālik – d. 91 or 93/709 or 711) and is transmitted by a Baṣran jurist (e.g., ʿĀṣim b. Sulaymān – d. 141 or 143/759 or 761) before being recorded by a Yemenī scholar (e.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq).[35] Such a

35 For this tradition, see ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf fī'l-ḥadīth*, ed. Ayman Naṣr al-Dīn al-Azharī, 12 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2000, 3:29, no. 4977. In this (and subsequent) citations of legal traditions, I offer volume and page number (e.g., volume 3 and page 29) along with the specific number assigned to a given tradition by the compiler/author (e.g., this tradition is designated by the number 4977).

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

tradition is connected to (a) Medina based on its ascription to the Prophet, (b) Baṣra based on the middle links in the chain of transmission or (c) Yemen based on its compiler. Applying a standard that weights the importance of transmitters from the early 2nd/8th century, this chain is classified as Baṣran.

A more complicated example originates with a Medinan authority (e.g., Abū Bakr – d. 13/635), passes through a Baṣran transmitter (e.g., Anas b. Mālik – d. 91 or 93/709 or 711) and a Kūfan jurist (e.g., Sufyān al-Thawrī – d. 161/778) before being recorded by a Yemenī compiler (e.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq).[36] Although such a tradition is transmitted by a Baṣran figure at the end of the 1st/7th century, it appears in Kūfa in the early and mid-2nd/8th century. It is tempting to argue for a Baṣran classification but, given this study's emphasis on the early and mid-2nd/8th century, this tradition is considered Kūfan.

There are rare instances where a tradition passes through two transmitters from different cities who lived in the first half of the 2nd/8th century.[37] In some of these cases, the remainder of the chain suggests an association with a specific city. Thus, a tradition may pass from a Kūfan transmitter to a Baṣran transmitter and then back through additional Kūfan transmitters. Based on the overwhelming number of Kūfan transmitters in the larger chain of transmission, the tradition is identified as Kūfan. If a chain lacks any regional patterns and there is simply no means for choosing between two (or rarely three) cities, then it is ascribed to multiple locations.

In addition to the process of linking traditions to geographical locations, it is important to mention the counting process itself. There are many traditions that share early segments of a chain of transmission before fragmenting into numerous independent chains. For example, a tradition may originate with the Medinan scholar al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) before splitting into ten independent chains of transmission (presumably through his students). Should such a tradition be counted once or should it be counted as ten separate traditions? The choice here is quite significant. The decision to count ten traditions from al-Zuhrī as opposed to one magnifies their impact on the analysis, potentially distorting the ubiquity of a particular ritual practice in a given city. By contrast, counting a single tradition when ten separate figures were transmitting a text from an authority figure in a given town risks minimizing the presence of a practice in a given city. Faced with this difficult choice, I have opted to apply a criterion (again) based on a prioritiz-

36 ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 2:57, no. 2601.

37 One such chain, for example, includes the Kūfan ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala (d. 127/745) and the Baṣran Saʿīd b. Mihrān (d. 155/771?). See Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, ed. Saʿīd al-Laḥḥām, 9 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989, 1:360, no. 4132.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

ing of the early and mid-2nd/8th century. Specifically, if a chain splits prior to the year 150/767, then I treat each branch as a separate tradition. If a chain splits after 150/767, then I consider all the branches part of a single tradition.

D Step 3 – Evaluating the Regional Associations of the Law Schools

After compiling traditions (step 1) and assigning each tradition a geographical location in the 2nd/8th century (step 2), it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of regional ritual practices. If a sufficient number of traditions linked to a given city advocate a particular practice, then it is reasonable to assert that such a practice was present in that city. This provides a means for testing the assumed regional associations of the law schools.

Recall the connections between geography and law school from Table 1. The strongest correlations were between (a) the Mālikīs and Medina and (b) the Ḥanafīs and Kūfa. The Shāfiʿīs were most closely associated with Medina but with potential universalist tendencies based on the legal writings of their founder. The Ḥanbalīs offers the weakest regional links due to their relatively late emergence in Baghdād and their reliance on traditions from a wide range of locations. The two Shīʿī schools (i.e., the Imāmīs and the Zaydīs) had populations rooted in Kūfa, while their legal authorities resided in Medina.

The third step in the analysis consists of evaluating these regional claims based on the results of our reconstructions of local ritual practice. A confirming result would not necessarily require a law school to align with the most widely attested practice in a given city. It would only require that the practice supported by the school be represented in a given city. In other words, if law school (A) is associated with Kūfa and advocates practice (X), then verification requires that practice (X) be present in Kūfa. The data might suggest the presence of multiple other practices (Y, Z, etc.) or cast practice (X) as a minority position. These complications would not, however, impact our broad assessment of the school's regional connections.

E Caveats and Considerations

Before proceeding to the case studies, a few points should be made about the nature of this study and its limitations. First, it is worth emphasizing that the method employed here is experimental and open to many legitimate criticisms. Perhaps the traditions do not reflect the diversity of lived practice in the 2nd/8th

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

century. Some groups may not have felt the need to justify their actions through traditions. In this hypothetical scenario, only the practices of a select number of groups would have survived in the written record, obscuring the actual diversity of practice within a given city. Another criticism might concern the use of numerical arguments to make claims about the pervasiveness of ritual practice. After all, given the relatively small numbers of texts, is it reasonable to make definitive statements about, for example, the prayer in a major city like Baṣra or Mecca? Can the sheer quantity of traditions really be translated into lived practice? This is an especially pertinent concern considering the multiple possible methods for counting traditions (see above).

These objections are only a starting point for criticism. The purpose of this study, however, is not to reach definite conclusions about the Ḥanafīs in Kūfa or the ritual practice of Mecca. Rather, it is an attempt to model a potential means for using a category of texts now dateable to the early 2nd/8th century to derive historical information. This study is designed to highlight some of the emerging possibilities in the study of early Islam that require a reworking of basic questions and methods to fit the available source material. The kinds of definite conclusions that would be most satisfying to the reader (e.g., a clear identification of ritual practice in Baṣra or a fundamental rethinking of the origins of the Mālikī school) require numerous similar studies over a wide range of issues. Here, I propose to take the first steps in this process and present a potential method for reconstructing ritual practices in the major urban centers of the early Muslim world.

3 Case Study 1 – The *Basmala*

Although the daily prayer is one of the cornerstones of Islamic ritual practice, its structure remains an issue of contention and controversy in legal polemics. In many cases, these controversies involve traditions that depict the prayers of the Prophet and other prominent early legal authorities. Such accounts are often contradictory, with contrasting descriptions of some prayer steps and disagreements regarding the inclusion of others. This first case study focuses on one of these disagreements related to the recitation (*qirāʾa*) in the daily prayer, a step that consists of the uttering of Qurʾānic verses at the start of every prayer cycle.[38]

38 The prayer is organized around 'cycles' of required actions and utterances. A different number of cycles are necessary for the five daily prayers: the dawn (*fajr*) prayer includes two cycles, the noon (*ẓuhr*), afternoon (*ʿaṣr*), and night (*ishāʾ*) prayers include four cycles and the

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

The recitation is of critical importance, with mistakes carrying serious religious consequences and possibly invalidating the prayer as a whole. It is not surprising, therefore, that jurists devote entire sections to the recitation, addressing questions of structure and selection. Which chapters (*sing. sūra/ pl. suwar*) of the Qurʾān should be recited during the first two prayer cycles? Is it necessary to recite an entire chapter or are fragments of chapters sufficient? Should these Qurʾānic passages be uttered aloud or whispered silently? This case study focuses on one of the central questions associated with the recitation, namely the necessity of prefacing recitation with the formula, "In the name of God, the Beneficent the Merciful" (subsequently referred to as the *basmala*).[39]

The six Sunnī and Shīʿī law schools considered in the present study take conflicting positions with respect to the *basmala*.[40] Table 3 summarizes the differences that pertain to (a) the *basmala*'s relationship to the Qurʾān and (b) its recitation in the ritual prayer.[41] The Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs are distinguished by their

sunset (*maghrib*) prayer includes three cycles. For a summary of the required steps of the daily prayer, see A. Tabbarah, *The Spirit of Islam*, trans. Hasan Shoucair and Rohi Baalbaki, Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm, 1978, 129–136.

39 The Islamic legal tradition has generated a vast literature dealing with the recitation of the *basmala* in the daily prayer. In this study, all references to the "issue of the *basmala*" will focus specifically on the recitation of the *basmala* at the start of the *Fātiḥa* (the first chapter in the Qurʾān) in the first cycle of each of the five daily prayers. Other issues discussed by the jurists include: the recitation of the *basmala* before the second Qurʾānic selection in each of the first two prayer cycles, the recitation of the *basmala* if the worshipper's second selection spans two *sūra*s and the recitation of the *basmala* in the second and subsequent prayer cycles.

40 For a detailed discussion of the *basmala* in Islamic juristic literature, see Haider, *Origins*, 57–79. Note that each school maintained a fairly consistent position on the *basmala* over time.

41 Among schools not covered here, the Ismāʿīlī position matches that of the Imāmīs by affirming the *basmala*'s Qurʾānic status and making its audible recitation mandatory in every prayer (Qāḍī Nuʿmān [d. 363/974], *Daʿāʾim al-islām*, ed. Āṣaf ʿAlī Aṣghar Fayḍī, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1951–60, 1:160. The Ẓāhirīs (as represented by Ibn Ḥazm) maintain that the relationship of the *basmala* to the Qurʾān is an open question, with both sides in possession of strong proof texts. As there is no clear way to prove the validity of one view over the other, both are equally acceptable as long as a consistency is maintained. In other words, an individual (i.e., a Shāfiʿī) who believes that the *basmala* is part of the Qurʾān *must* recite it in the prayer, while one who does not hold this view may choose to include it (i.e., a Ḥanafī) or not (i.e., a Mālikī). Ibn Ḥazm does not take a position on the *basmala*'s place in the Qurʾānic text, but he does interpret the textual evidence as strong proof for the silent recitation of the *basmala* at the start of prayer (Ibn Ḥazm [d. 456/1064], *al-Muḥallā bi-ʾl-āthār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bundārī, 12 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1988, 2:280–284). The Ibāḍīs adopt a stance virtually identical to that of the Shāfiʿīs. They consider the *basmala* the first verse in every Qurʾānic chapter on the basis of Q 15:87 ("And We have bestowed upon you the seven oft-repeated [*sabʿan min al-mathānī*] and the Glorious Qurʾān"), the opinions of early Companions and the consensus of the school. The ac-

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

belief that the *basmala* is not part of the Qurʾān at the start of individual chapters. They argue that the phrase originally signified the end of one chapter and the start of the next. The Ḥanafīs still allow the *basmala* to be recited silently in the ritual prayer as part of a standard invocation inserted between the initial *takbīr* (reciting the phrase "God is the Greatest") and the Qurʾānic recitation. The Mālikīs, by contrast, consider the *basmala* an extraneous insertion into the prayer structure and consider its inclusion reprehensible (*makrūh*). The other law schools accept the *basmala* as a Qurʾānic verse but differ on its relation to specific chapters. In this regard, the first chapter of the Qurʾān (the *Fātiḥa*) is of particular importance as all the schools of law require its recitation in the first two prayer cycles. The Ḥanbalīs are singular in their belief that the *basmala* is a free-standing verse between individual chapters, a position that enables them to follow the Ḥanafīs in reciting it silently, even in prayers where the remainder of the recitation is audible. Specifically, they argue that the *basmala* is subject to different recitation rules from the *Fātiḥa* because it functions as an independent piece of text. The Shāfiʿīs believe that the *basmala* is a part of the *Fātiḥa* and should, therefore, be recited audibly in audible prayer cycles and silently in silent prayer cycles. The Imāmīs consider the *basmala* a special verse that merits the distinction of audible recitation. They utter the verse audibly, even in those prayer cycles where the rest of the recitation is silent. The Zaydīs are split on the issue, with the majority adopting a view similar to that of the Shāfiʿīs, but a significant minority advocating a stance that resembles that of the Imāmīs.

ceptance of the *basmala*'s Qurʾānic status then compels them to treat it in the same manner as the rest of the *Fātiḥa*. The verse is recited audibly in audible prayers and silently in silent prayers (al-Shammākhī [d. 792/1389], *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*, 4 vols., Beirut: Maṭbaʿa al-Waṭan, 1970, 1:478–480). The school of Sufyān al-Thawrī, often associated with Kūfan traditionalism, favors the silent *basmala* but it is not clear whether any distinctions are made between audible and silent prayers. For more on Sufyān al-Thawrī, see *EI*², s.v. Sufyān al-Thawrī (H. P. Raddatz). For the position of his school, see al-Qaffāl (d. 507/1114), *Ḥilyat al-ʿulamāʾ fī maʿrifat madhāhib al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. Yāsīn Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Darādikah, 8 vols. (Amman: Dār al-Bāz, 1988). 2:104 and Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223), *al-Mughnī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 15 vols. (Cairo: Hajr, 1986), 2:149. All Qurʾānic passages are modified versions of Marmaduke Pickthall's translation.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Table 3: Juristic Treatment of the *Basmala*

	***Basmala* as a verse at the start of the *Fātiḥa* and the other *sūra*s?**	***Basmala* recited at the start of prayer?**	***Basmala* recitation?**
Ḥanafīs	No	Yes	Silent
Mālikīs	No	No	Not applicable
Shāfiʿīs	Yes	Yes	Audible – audible prayer cycles Silent – silent prayer cycles
Ḥanbalīs	No (independent verse)	Yes	Silent
Imāmīs	Yes	Yes	Audible
Zaydīs	Yes	Yes	Majority view: Audible – audible prayer cycles Silent – silent prayer cycles Minority view: Audible

Note: This table lists the predominant practice in each law school even though some schools (e.g., the Shāfiʿīs, the Ḥanbalīs) included multiple positions. The Zaydīs are unique in that (a) they allow each Imām to formulate an independent ruling (in theory) and (b) both the majority and minority views were widely practiced in Yemen.

A Analysis

The Sunnī collections yield a total of 127 traditions[42] that address the recitation of the *basmala* at the start of the daily prayer. As a whole, these traditions focus on the permissibility of the *basmala* at the start of prayer, but a significant number also frame the issue in Qurʾānic terms by (a) asserting that the phrase was part of the divine text or (b) characterizing it as a late addition. Further complications

42 The *basmala* traditions are taken from: Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ (riwāyat Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī)*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996, 1:131, 136; al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-āthār*, ed. Abū Wafāʾ al-Afghānī, Karachi: al-Majlis al-ʿIlmī, 1965, 151–3; al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 4 vols., Hajar: n.p., 1999, 3:132; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf*, 2:57–60; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, 1:359–62; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad Darānī, 4 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-Mughnī, 2000, 2:787–9; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 5 vols., Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1955–1956, 1:296–300; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1952–1953, 1:267; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 5 vols., Medina: al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya, 1965–1967, 1:327–330; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 8 vols., Cairo: n.p., 1930, 1:133–135; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 11 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1994, 2:59–77.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

arise in the manner of recitation due to the difficulty in differentiating traditions that advocate omission of the *basmala* from those that favor its silent recitation.

Before proceeding, let us recall the two primary criteria utilized in the classification and counting of traditions. First, the geographical association of a given tradition is determined by its transmitters from the early and mid-2nd/8th century. In cases where *isnād*s are mixed *within* the 2nd/8th century, transmitters from the first half of the century are given precedence over those from the latter. Second, traditions which are identical in both *isnād* and *matn* (content) through 150/767 are counted only once.

The results of the geographical analysis of the traditions are presented in the Appendix (see Data Tables 1a–b and Charts 1a–d). Some of the categories/columns in Data Table 1a merit further comment:

(a) The second column (Audible) contains those traditions that unambiguously advocate the audible recitation of the *basmala* in the daily prayer, either through the use of the Arabic root < j-h-r > (to recite audibly) or through eyewitness account in which worshippers hear the Prophet's (or another authority's) recitation. One such tradition, for example, reads:

> ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr began his recitation in the prayer with the *basmala*. He would say, "Arrogance is the only thing that prevents people [from doing the same]."[43]

(b) The third column (Silent) consists of those accounts which explicitly state that the *basmala* should be recited silently through the use of the verb < kh-f-y > (to whisper) or a negated form of the verb < j-h-r >. The central concern in these traditions is not the recitation of the *basmala* itself but rather the mode (audible vs. silent) of its recitation.

(c) The traditions in the fourth column (Audible/Silent) are unique in that they do *not* explicitly mention recitation in the prayer. Rather, they are interested in the *basmala*'s relationship to the Qurʾānic text. In one example, the following observation is ascribed to Saʿīd b. Jubayr:

> Believers at the time of the Messenger of God did not know that a chapter [of the Qurʾān] had come to a close until the revelation of the *basmala*. If the *basmala* was revealed, then they knew that [a new] chapter had been revealed and [the previous] had concluded.[44]

These traditions support the recitation of the *basmala* as they affirm the verse's place at the start of every chapter of the Qurʾān (including the *Fātiḥa*). The issue of whether it should be recited audibly or silently remains unclear.

43 al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, 2:71, no. 2406.

44 ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 2:60, no. 2619.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

(d) The fifth column (Omitted) contains traditions that support the omission of the *basmala* by stating that an authority "began recitation" or "opened the prayer" with the verse "Praise be to God, Master of the Worlds."[45] These accounts are potentially ambiguous in that they may be interpreted as favoring either omission or silent recitation. In the legal works, however, they are primarily utilized as proof that the *basmala* was recited "neither silently to oneself nor audibly."[46]

(e) Ambiguity is also an issue in the sixth column (Not Heard), which includes traditions that use a negated form of the verb < s-m-ʿ > (to hear) in combination with < q-w-l > (to say) or < q-r-ʾ > (to recite). Although < q-r-ʾ> often refers to recitation in a general sense, < s-m-ʿ > suggests the central importance of audibility. These accounts preserve reports from eyewitnesses who "did not hear" the *basmala* without specifying whether the verse was dropped altogether or simply recited silently. The legal literature offers little to clarify the situation. The Shāfiʿī jurists, al-Baghawī (d. 516/1123) and al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), along with the Ḥanbalī jurist, Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223), primarily employ these traditions to argue against audibility rather than in favor of silent recitation.[47] The Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, on the other hand, quotes these traditions to support the silent recitation of the *basmala*.[48] As a whole, the traditions in this category do not support a single view. Instead, they are polemically directed *against* the audible *basmala* in the same manner that the "Audible/Silent" traditions (fourth column) are directed against the *basmala*'s omission.[49]

The results of the analysis (see Table 4) suggest a strong correlation between the audible *basmala* and the Ḥijāz. Of the eighteen Meccan accounts, 67% (12/18) directly advocate the audible *basmala* and an additional 22% (4/18) support either silent or audible recitation by affirming the *basmala* as the first verse of the *Fātiḥa*. The Medinan accounts yield similar results with 59% (13/22) in favor of

45 This is either the first verse (if the *basmala* is not counted) or the second verse (if the *basmala* is counted) of the *Fātiḥa*.

46 Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā*, ed. Ḥamdī al-Damirdāsh Muḥammad, 9 vols., Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1999, 1:186.

47 Al-Baghawī (d. 516/1123), *Sharḥ al-sunna*, ed. Saʿīd Muḥammad al-Laḥḥām, 8 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994, 2:237–240; al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), *Majmūʿ sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab*, ed. Zakariyyā ʿAlī Yūsuf, 18 vols., Cairo: Maṭbaʿa al-Imām bi-Miṣr, 1966–1969, 3:290–313; Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Khaṭṭāb *et al.*, 16 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1996, 2:30–34

48 Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-āthār*, 151–161.

49 It is worth noting that all of these traditions are Baṣran and align smoothly with the dominant Baṣran position in favor of omitting the *basmala*.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

audible recitation and another 14% (3/22) falling under the category of audible or silent. Given that a vast majority of the Meccan (89%) and Medinan (73%) traditions are compatible (explicitly or implicitly) with the audible position, it seems safe to assume that significant segments of Medina and Mecca recited the *basmala* aloud in the daily prayer.

Turning to the ʿIrāqī cities, the Kūfan accounts support two apparently contradictory legal positions. Specifically, an identical number (42% – 13/31) of Kūfan traditions endorse the audible and silent positions, suggesting that Kūfa was home to multiple views. In Baṣra, 54% (30/56) of all traditions support the omission of the *basmala*, while another 20% (11/54) directly attack proponents of the audible *basmala* by relating testimonials from witnesses who did not hear the Prophet or other early authorities utter the phrase in prayer. As mentioned above, these latter traditions may be interpreted as favoring either omission or silent recitation. Given the fact that (a) a majority of Baṣran traditions support outright omission and (b) no Baṣran traditions explicitly endorse the silent *basmala*, it is more likely that the "not heard" traditions were used as evidence for omission.[50] Overall, the dominant practice in Baṣra appears to have been the omission of the *basmala* from the prayer recitation.

To summarize, the data suggests that the audible *basmala* was recited in Mecca and Medina. There is a smaller amount of evidence pointing to the silent *basmala* in Mecca or the omitted *basmala* in Medina. Kūfa appears to be a divided city between the audible and the silent *basmala*, while Baṣra strongly advocates the omitted *basmala* with (perhaps) a minority view in favor of the audible *basmala*. A final point to note is that Medina and Baṣra are the only cities with traditions that support the omitted *basmala* position. This observation aligns with documented early differences in the numbering of Qurʾānic verses. Specifically, the *basmala* was not counted as a verse of the *Fātiḥa* in the Medinan/Baṣran reading of the Qurʾān, whereas it was counted as a verse in the Kūfan/Meccan reading.[51]

50 Another possibility may be that these texts were designed to counter the small (but not insignificant) number of Baṣran traditions that favor the audible *basmala* (20% – 11/56).

51 See Anton Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran*, Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935, 31 (Table 1). The Medinan/Syrian/Baṣran reading places a break between *alayhim* and *ghayr* in the final line of the *Fātiḥa* to reach the seven verses required by Q15:87. By contrast, the Kūfan/Meccan reading counts the *basmala* as the first verse of the *Fātiḥa* and does not place a break between *alayhim* and *ghayr*. For a succinct summary of competing views with regard to the *Fātiḥa*, see al-Dānī's *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, ed. Ghānim Qaddūrī al-Ḥamad, Kuwait: Markaz al-Makhṭūṭat wa al-Turāth wa al-Wathāʾiq, 1994, 231. The difference in the counting of verses is also mentioned by al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273) (*al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 20 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-ʿArabī, 1967, 1:91–107) and al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153) (*Jawāmiʿ al-jāmiʿ*, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1985, 1:15–16). See also, Haider, *Origins*, 57–68.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Table 4: Geographical Results (*Basmala*)

City	Attested practice
Mecca	Audible recitation of the *basmala* (silent recitation as potential minority practice)
Medina	Audible recitation of the *basmala* (omission as potential minority practice)
Kūfa	Equal division between audible and silent recitation of the *basmala*
Baṣra	Omission of *basmala* (audible recitation as potential minority position)

B Assessment

Based on these results, it is now possible to evaluate the assumed regional associations of the classical Islamic legal schools. Recall from Table 1 that the Mālikīs trace their law school back to Medina, while the Ḥanafīs are connected to Kūfa. The Shāfiʿīs have ties to Medina through their eponym (al-Shāfiʿī), but this claim is complicated by the school's advocacy of traditionalism. The Ḥanbalīs emerged in a later period, and their strict reliance on traditions suggests a trans-regional perspective. They may have some association with ʿIrāq (broadly conceived) by virtue of their links to Baghdād. On the Shīʿī side, the 2nd/8th century Imāmī and Zaydī communities were firmly rooted in Kūfa, even as the Imāms to whom they accorded legal authority resided in Medina.

The most interesting conclusion of this first case study concerns the Mālikīs, who claim a direct link to Medina and yet follow a ritual practice (i.e., the omitted *basmala*) that aligns most closely with Baṣra. This conclusion is explicitly contradicted by many Mālikī jurists who assert that the omission of the *basmala* reflects Medinan customary practice.[52] A similar view is articulated by other scholars including al-Dānī[53] (d. 444/1053) and al-Ṭabrisī[54] (d. 548/1153), whose works are more interested in exegetical concerns than juristic debates. Although Dutton acknowledges that numerous Medinan traditions favor the audible *basmala*, he

52 See, for example Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 386/996), *Kitāb al-nawādir waʾl-ziyādāt*, 15 vols., ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999, 1:172–173.

53 Al-Dānī, *al-Bayān*, 231.

54 Al-Ṭabrisī, *Jawāmiʿ*, 1:15–16.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

contends that Mālik[55] (and subsequent Mālikīs) ignored them because they did not align with the city's practice in the 2nd/8th century.[56] By contrast, al-Nawawī[57] (a Shāfiʿī) and al-Sharafī[58] (d. 1062/1652) (a Zaydī) claim that the *basmala* was audibly recited in the time of the Prophet and the first four caliphs before being coercively changed by the Umayyads during Muʿāwiya's reign.[59] In the end, the textual evidence does not suggest an overwhelming adherence in Medina to the omission of the *basmala*. At best, it appears to have been a minority position in the city. The Imāmī sources lend further credence to the prevalence (or at least presence) of the audible *basmala* in the Medina (see below). We are left to wonder whether the Mālikīs simply selected one of multiple positions present in Medina (recall that the omitted *basmala* was supported by a small minority of texts) and claimed it as the exclusive practice of the entire city.

The Ḥanafī position (silent *basmala*) fits within the ʿIrāqī context as it adheres to one of the two views associated with Kūfa. The Shāfiʿī view also finds strong support in Kūfa as the city's division between the audible and silent *basmala* is reconciled in the Shāfiʿī school's adoption of both practices. Perhaps the Shāfiʿī position resulted from the traditionalists' project of reconciling contradictions within the larger corpus of traditions? After all, it is clear that the *basmala* traditions (as a whole) seem to support both the audible and silent position. It is noteworthy that there is some Medinan evidence for the Shāfiʿī position as two Medinan traditions support the silent *basmala*. This view, however, is more representative of Kūfa. The Ḥanbalī practice of silent recitation aligns with Kūfa and, to a lesser extent, with Baṣra. The Ḥanbalī case is complicated by both the school's late emergence and its idiosyncratic view of the status of the *basmala* in the Qurʾān. The Imāmī and (minority) Zaydī views in favor of a universal audible recitation find some support in Kūfa but seem to align better with Mecca and Medina. This is not surprising given the reliance of the Shīʿa on Medinan ʿAlids for guidance regarding proper ritual. For the Imāmīs, this was certainly the case, and the Medinan/Mecca influence is notable in their embrace of the audible *basmala*. The Zaydī example is more complicated as they partially emerged from a tradi-

55 Mālik does not mention Medinan *ʿamal* in his discussion of the *basmala*, instead relying on a series of Baṣran traditions. See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ (riwāyat Suwayd b. Saʿīd)*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd Turkī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994, 85–86.

56 Dutton, *Origins*, 42, note 82.

57 Al-Nawawī, *al-Majmūʿ*, 3:299–302.

58 Al-Sharafī, *al-Maṣābīḥ al-sāṭiʿat al-anwār*, ed. Muḥammad Qāsim al-Hāshimī and ʿAbd al-Salām ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, 3 vols., Ṣaʿda: Maktaba al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1998, 1:158–159.

59 See Haider, "Muʿāwiya," 52–54.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

tionalist milieu (often termed "Batrism").[60] Consequently, their (majority) support for a view similar to the Shāfiʿīs may reflect their traditionalist origins.

The results of the comparison between the geographical reconstruction of practice and law school regional associations are listed in Table 5. Whereas each of the links is confirmed, the degree of that confirmation varies significantly. Note that the Mālikī and Shāfiʿī links to Medina are most tenuous as they rely on just a handful of texts and clearly contradict the dominant Medinan position in favor of the audible *basmala*. The regional associations of the other schools find significant support in these results.

Table 5: Assessing the Regional/Law School Association (Case Study 1 – *Basmala*)

Law school	Geographical associations	Correlation?	Strength (majority or minority)
Ḥanafīs	Kūfa	Present	Majority position (1 of 2)
Mālikīs	Medina	Present	*Minority position*
Shāfiʿīs	Medina	Present	*Minority position*
Ḥanbalīs	ʿIrāq (regional)	Present	Kūfa – Majority position (1 of 2) *Baṣra – Minority position*
Imāmīs	Kūfa (community) and Medina (Imāms)	Present	Kūfa – Majority position (1 of 2) Medina – Majority position
Zaydīs	Kūfa (community) and Medina (Imāms)	Present	School's dominant view: Kūfa – majority position (1 of 2) Medina – majority position School's secondary view: Kūfa – majority position (1 of 2) *Medina – minority position*

4 Case Study 2 – The *Qunūt*

At numerous points in the Prophet's life, the sources depict him as offering prayers for individuals/tribes by name or cursing them for perceived betrayals or transgressions. In many cases, these invocations/curses were integrated into the daily prayer at a point between the Qurʾānic recitation and the *sajda* (prostration) in a gesture referred to as the *qunūt*.[61] Juristic disagreements subsequently arose

60 See Haider, *Origins*, 17–21 and 189–192.

61 For a very basic overview of the *qunūt*, see *EI*², s.v. Qunūt (A. J. Wensinck). For an account of the *qunūt*'s origins (also discussed below), see Kister, "The Expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna," in George Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, Leiden: Brill, 1965, 337–357.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

regarding whether the Prophet's actions were meant as a precedent for future generations of Muslims or whether they were restricted to an isolated historical moment.

Legal discussions of the *qunūt* generally focus on two primary and three secondary issues. The primary issues concern (a) the identity of prayers for which the *qunūt* is mandatory[62] and (b) its actual wording and content. Identifying the prayers is complicated by opinions that limit the *qunūt* to a specific time of the year (i.e., the second half of Ramaḍān). The juristic discourse surrounding these two issues is Qurʾānic in nature, concentrating on the legal implications of Q3:128[63] and the permissibility of inserting non-Qurʾānic elements (invocations and curses) into the obligatory prayers. The secondary questions focus on practical details such as (c) the location of the *qunūt* in the prayer (before vs. after the *rukūʿ*[64]), (d) the raising of the hands during the *qunūt* and (e) the prefacing of the *qunūt* with a *takbīr*.

As in the case of the *basmala*, each of the law schools adopted differing positions with respect to the *qunūt* (see Table 6).[65] The Ḥanafīs restrict the *qunūt* to the

62 I focus on the five mandatory daily prayers and the *witr* prayer (performed between *ʿishāʾ* and *fajr*). Two notable absences are the Friday prayer and the group/congregational prayer, both of which are subject to idiosyncratic legal rules and lie outside the scope of this study due to space constraints. The logic behind the inclusion of *witr*, but not of the other supererogatory prayers, lies in the controversy surrounding its status and its absolute centrality in juristic discussions of the *qunūt*. Specifically, there was a view that considered *witr* a mandatory sixth prayer. This is mentioned by a number of scholars including the Ḥanafī al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981) (*Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1978?, 1:443) and the Mālikī al-Qurṭubī (*al-Jāmiʿ*, 3:213). The Ḥanafīs still view the *witr* prayer as *wājib*, by which they mean highly recommended as opposed to obligatory.

63 Q3:128 – "You have no concern in the affair whether He relent toward them or punish them; for they are evil-doers."

64 The *rukūʿ* is the point in prayer after the recitation when the worshipper bends down with his/her hands placed on the knees. There is a general consensus that he/she must then return to a standing position and pause before proceeding to the *sajda* (prostration). The issue at stake here is whether the *qunūt* is inserted after the recitation or before the *sajda* when the worshipper is in an upright position.

65 For a detailed discussion of the *qunūt* in Islamic juristic literature, see Haider, *Origins*, 95–118. I was unable to find corresponding discussions on the *qunūt* in the daily prayer for the Ẓāhirīs, the Ismāʿīlīs and the Ibāḍīs. According to the *ikhtilāf* literature, Sufyān al-Thawrī favored the *witr qunūt* and rejected the *fajr qunūt*. It should be noted, however, that he narrates three traditions that uphold the *maghrib qunūt*. While the *ikhtilāf* works do not discuss his view on the placement of the *qunūt*, almost all of his transmitted traditions locate it before the *rukūʿ*. Overall, Sufyān al-Thawrī's position may help explain the presence of Sunnī Kūfan accounts that support the *maghrib qunūt*. See also, Qaffāl, *Ḥilyat*, 2:134 and Ibn Qudāma, *Mugnī* (1986), 2:580.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

witr prayer[66] before the *rukūʿ* and affirm its validity throughout the year. They also insert an introductory *takbīr* and prefer a recitation that consists of invocations rather than curses. Although the school initially seems to have rejected the raising of hands, later jurists came to accept the practice. The Ḥanafī view differs from that of the (Medinan) Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs, who affirm the *qunūt* in *fajr* and only uphold it in *witr* for the second half of Ramaḍān. While the Ḥanafīs forward a maximalist interpretation of Q3:128, allowing for the omission of the *qunūt* in the five mandatory prayers, the Mālikīs and the Shāfiʿīs restrict the scope of the verse to the issue of cursing. The Mālikīs cite the living tradition of Medina to support their stance, and the Shāfiʿīs attempt to reconcile often contradictory textual evidence. Both schools limit the *qunūt* recitation to invocations and reject the insertion of an introductory *takbīr*. The Ḥanbalīs, relying solely on traditions, agree with the Ḥanafīs in their affirmation of the year-round *witr qunūt* but differ on its placement in the prayer. Their position is distinctive among the Sunnī schools in that they permit cursing in the *qunūt* recitation.

As for the Shīʿī legal schools, the Imāmīs align partly with the Ḥanafīs. They place the *qunūt* before the *rukūʿ*, preface it with a *takbīr* and (after an early disagreement) endorse the raising of hands. They differ from the Ḥanafīs in their extension of the *qunūt* to all the prayers and their permission for cursing. The Imāmīs justify their position through a distinct interpretation of Q2:238[67] and traditions drawn from both Imāmī and Sunnī collections. Finally, the Zaydīs are characterized by a fragmentation that persisted well into the post-formative period. The dominant (Hādawī) opinion accords with the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs in endorsing the *fajr* and *witr qunūt* after the *rukūʿ*. It does not, however, restrict the *witr qunūt* to the second half of Ramaḍān. Hādawī Zaydī legal discourse is distinguished by its advocacy of Qurʾānic recitation in the *qunūt*. The Nāṣirī Zaydīs break with the Hādawīs and adopt a practice that resembles the Imāmīs in extending the *qunūt* to *maghrib* and *ʿishāʾ* and placing it before the *rukūʿ*.

66 For the *witr* prayer, see note 62 above.

67 Q2:238 – "Attend strictly (*ḥāfiẓū*) to your prayers, and to the midmost prayer (*al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā*), and stand up with devotion (*qānitīn*) to God." This translation reflects the general Sunnī interpretation, which does *not* draw a link between the word *qānitīn* and the act of *qunūt*. For Imāmī exegesis, see al-Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 8 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Taqrīb Bayn al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya, 1958, 2:163–165. For Sunnī exegesis, see al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3:212–214 and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), *Tafsīr*, ed. Ṣalāh ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Khālidī, 7 vols., Beirut: al-Dār al-Shāmiyya, 1997, 2:69–75.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Table 6: Juristic Treatment of the *Qunūt*

	Prayers	Placement	Recitation	*Takbīr*	Hands
Ḥanafīs	*Witr*	Before	Invocations	Yes	No/Yes
Mālikīs	*Fajr* *Witr* (2nd half of Ramaḍān)	Before (preferred) After (permitted)	Invocations	No	No/Yes
Shāfiʿīs	*Fajr* *Witr* (2nd half of Ramaḍān)	After	Invocations	No	No/Yes
Ḥanbalīs	*Witr*	After	Invocations/Curses	N/A	Yes
Imāmīs	All	Before	Invocations/Curses	Yes	Yes
Hādawī Zaydīs[68] (majority)	*Fajr*, *Witr*	After	Invocations	No	No
Nāṣirī Zaydīs[67] (minority)	*Fajr*, *Maghrib*, *ʿIshāʾ*	Before	Invocations/Curses	N/A	N/A

Note: This table lists the predominant practice in each law school even though some schools included multiple positions. The Zaydīs are unique in that (a) they allow each Imām to formulate an independent ruling (in theory) and (b) multiple views were widely practiced in different locations.

A Analysis

Given the complicated nature of the *qunūt*, it is necessary to narrow our scope to make the analysis more manageable. Consequently, I will focus on one of the primary and one of the secondary issues detailed above, namely, (a) identifying those prayers for which the *qunūt* is permissible and (b) determining whether the *qunūt* is placed before or after the *rukūʿ*. The Sunnī collections offer a total of 324[69]

68 For the origins of the split between the Hādawī and Nāṣirī Zaydīs, see *EI*², s.v. Zaydīyya (Madelung). For the legal differences between the two, see Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (d. 661/1223), *Shifāʾ al-uwām*, 3 vols., Ṣanʿāʾ: n.p., 1996.

69 The *qunūt* traditions are taken from: Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ (riwāyat ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaʿnabī)*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd Turkī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999, 1:123; al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-āthār*, 1:569–595; al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, 3:571; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf*, 3:26–39; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, 2:207–217; Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana*, 1:227–228; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 2:992–995; al-Bukhārī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 8 vols., Cairo: n.p., 1898, 1:193, 254; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:466–470; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 1:372–374; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath, *Sunan*,

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

traditions that directly address these two questions. In some cases, a single tradition conveys multiple opinions or is connected to multiple chains of transmission, resulting in the fact that the total number of traditions in the data tables exceeds 324.

The data (see Appendix – Data Tables 2a–b and Charts 2–3) indicate significant support for the *fajr qunūt* in Mecca and Baṣra. Of the 14 Meccan traditions that deal with the *fajr qunūt*, 86% (12/14) endorse the practice. Similar levels of support are found in Baṣra, where 82% (62/76) of the *fajr* traditions favor the *qunūt*.[70] The situation in Medina and Kūfa is more complex as there is support both for and against the *fajr qunūt*. Medinan accounts evidence a fairly even division (43% – 9/21 in favor, 57% – 11/21 opposed) between the two positions, with opposing traditions arguing that the *fajr qunūt* was ultimately abrogated by the Prophet. The Kūfan split (56% – 48/85 in favor, 44% – 37/85 opposed) on the *fajr qunūt* suggests a multiplicity of views within the city. This is discussed in greater detail below.

There is a general consensus supporting the *qunūt* in the *witr* prayer across all four cities. The Kūfan and Baṣran accounts are particular strong in this area, together contributing 75% (25/33) of all traditions in favor of the practice. Meccan and Medinan support (though clear) is qualified by the relative paucity of relevant texts as compared to the abundance of such reports in ʿIrāq. All the Sunnī legal schools eventually accepted the *witr qunūt* but differed as to whether it was valid year-round (e.g., Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs) or limited to the second half of Ramadan (e.g., Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs).

There is strikingly less evidence in the Sunnī traditions regarding the *qunūt* in the other obligatory prayers. The Ḥijāz offers little support for the performance of the *qunūt* in the *ẓuhr*, *ʿaṣr*, *Maghrib* or *ʿishāʾ* prayers. Mecca has one tradition that addresses these prayers as a whole, while Medina contributes a handful of (largely negative) accounts. Although the Kūfan traditions follow Meccan and Medinan accounts in their silence on the *ẓuhr*, *ʿaṣr* and *ʿishāʾ* prayers, they include twelve traditions that endorse the *maghrib qunūt*.[71] Finally, the Baṣran

ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1935, 2:63–68; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 1:116–120; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, 9 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1991, 1:200–204, 248–249; al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, 2:281–303. I have also utilized three unique traditions found in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's (d. 463/1071), *al-Istidhkār*, ed. ʿAlī al-Najdī Nāsif, Cairo: n.p., 1971–1973, 2:339–340.

70 In addition to traditions that directly endorse the *fajr qunūt*, 10 of the 14 opposing Baṣran accounts accept its validity at the time of the Prophet but argue for abrogation.

71 Support for *qunūt* in the *maghrib* prayer may stem from its status as 'the *witr* prayer of the day.' This designation arises from the fact that *maghrib* is the only daytime prayer with an odd number (three) of prayer cycles.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

traditions are distinguished by their support of the *qunūt* in the *ẓuhr* (78% – 7/9), *maghrib*, (83% – 10/12) and *ʿishāʾ* (83% – 10/12) prayers.

Data Table 4 and Charts 4a–d (see Appendix) address the second issue of interest, namely the location of the *qunūt* in the structure of the daily prayer. In Data Table 4, the 209 (of 324) *qunūt* traditions that discuss the issue of placement are organized on the basis of geography with the symbol (o) representing texts that favor the *qunūt* before the *rukūʿ* and the symbol (x) representing those that place it after the *rukūʿ*. In the case of Medina, 95% (20/21) of the relevant traditions locate the *qunūt* after the *rukūʿ*. The Baṣran results are equally one-sided with a handful of "before" texts (limited to *fajr* and *witr*) outweighed by a large number (82% – 69/84) of "after" traditions. The Kūfan accounts, however, strongly advocate the *qunūt* before the *rukūʿ* (97% – 26/27), with only a single dissenting voice. Given the relative paucity of Meccan traditions (i.e., seven traditions in total), it is not possible to generalize regarding the city's view on this issue.

A fairly consistent geographical picture can be drawn from the Sunnī traditions (see Table 7). The Medinans accept the *witr qunūt* and are divided regarding the *fajr qunūt* but (in both cases) locate the *qunūt* after the *rukūʿ*. The Meccans seem to favor the *qunūt* in *fajr* and *witr* with no clear opinion as to its placement in the structure of the prayer. The Baṣrans are distinguished by their broad endorsement of the *qunūt* in a number of prayers (*fajr*, *ẓuhr*, *maghrib*, *ʿishāʾ*, *witr*) but agree with the Medinans in locating it after the *rukūʿ*. Finally, the Kūfans favor the *maghrib* and *witr qunūt* but seem divided over the *fajr qunūt*. They are unique in their strong support for the placement of the *qunūt* before the *rukūʿ*.

Table 7: Geographical Results (*Qunūt*)

City	Prayers with *qunūt*	Placement
Mecca	*Fajr* and *witr* (1 tradition in favor of *ẓuhr*, *ʿaṣr* and *ʿishāʾ*)	Indeterminate
Medina	*Witr* and (possibly) *ʿishāʾ* prayer. Strong internal divisions over *fajr*	After
Kūfa	A degree of support for all prayers but strongest evidence for *witr* and *maghrib*. Internal disagreement over *fajr*.	Before
Baṣra	Unequivocal support for *fajr*. Strong support for *ẓuhr, maghrib*, *ʿishāʾ*, and *witr*.	After

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

B Assessment

The early Mālikī law school was divided on the issue of the *fajr qunūt* with opinions both in favor and against the practice ascribed to Mālik b. Anas.[72] This division is reflected in the Medinan traditions, which lend support to both of these contradictory positions. The Mālikī support of the *witr qunūt* is also characteristic of Medina but this opinion is hardly distinctive. It is in the placement of the *qunūt* after the *rukūʿ* that the geographical associations of the Mālikīs become most apparent as this is a view strongly associated with Medina and Baṣra.[73] The Shāfiʿī and Hādawī Zaydī positions are quite similar to the Mālikīs and (also) align most closely with Medina through their placement of the *basmala* after the *rukūʿ*. Both of these schools agree with regional expectations.

The Ḥanafīs favor the *witr qunūt* placed before the *rukūʿ* and reject the *fajr qunūt*. Although both of these views are represented in Kūfa, the level of support for each varies significantly. The Kūfan traditions widely attest to the *witr qunūt* (94 % – 14/15) before the *rukūʿ* (100 % – 16/16) but the rejection of the *fajr qunūt* is a minority position (44 % – 37/85). The city also seems to provide traditions supporting the *maghrib qunūt* in contradiction to the Ḥanafī view. Overall, Kūfans appear to adhere to many different positions, but some of these (e.g., the *maghrib qunūt*) only survived in the ritual practice of two Shīʿīlaw schools with Kūfan roots, namely the Imāmīs and the Nāṣirī Zaydīs (see below). The fact that these positions are not found in any of the surviving Sunnī schools may result from simple historical circumstance as the extant law schools are not representative of the legal diversity of the first few Islamic centuries.

As expected, Ḥanbalī practice is found in the two ʿIrāqī urban centers, Kūfa and Baṣra. The school's rejection of the *fajr qunūt* is a minority position in Kūfa and Baṣra, while its favoring of the *witr qunūt* is a majority position in both cities. As for the placement of the *qunūt* after the *rukūʿ*, this view is attested in a singular Kūfan tradition and two (of four) Baṣran traditions. The city with the strongest correlation to the Ḥanbalī position, however, is Medina where a majority of traditions reject the *fajr qunūt* and favor the *witr qunūt* after the *rukūʿ*.

The most surprising results concern the Imāmīs and the Nāṣirī Zaydīs. Their extension of the *qunūt* beyond *fajr* and *witr* is found, to a limited extent, in the (as

72 Compare Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ (riwāyat Suwayd b. Saʿīd)*, (1994), 123 with *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ (riwāyat Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī)*, (1996), 1:226.

73 It is worth noting that – as in the case of the *basmala* – there is a strong correlation between the Mālikīs and Baṣra. The Mālikīs, however, differ from the Baṣran traditions in that they do not perform the *qunūt* in all prayers.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

expected) Kūfan traditions but is much more evident (unexpectedly) in the Baṣran traditions. Opposition to the Imāmī and Nāṣirī stance is most fervent in the Medinan traditions. In fact, Medina is the only city in which reports circulated that explicitly rejected the *qunūt* for each of the daily prayers. A possible explanation may be that these traditions were intended to counter the opinions of the Imāmī and Zaydī leaders who lived in Medina. We have not considered the Shīʿī traditions in the current study but many of them do, in fact, link the Imāmī position to Medinan authorities.

In terms of placement, the Imāmīs and Nāṣirīs (like the Ḥanafīs) locate the *qunūt* before the *rukū*ʿ, a practice that is distinctively associated with Kūfa. In the case of the *qunūt*, these Shīʿī groups seem to have adopted ʿIrāqī positions that were ultimately rejected by their Sunnī counterparts. This result contrasts with the previous case study, where the Imāmīs appeared to follow a Medinan practice that did, in fact, survive in an extant Sunnī law school.

The results of the comparison between reconstructed regional practices based on the traditions and assumed law school associations are presented in Table 8. As with the *basmala*, each of the law school associations are affirmed, but to differing degrees. In some cases, a school's practice is present but only on the basis of a handful of traditions. This is the case with the Imāmī and Nāṣirī position on *qunūt* that is found in the Kūfan traditions but is more prevalent in the Baṣran traditions. In other cases, a school's view might be viable in its home city/region but align better with a different city/region. The Ḥanbalī position, in particular, is represented in Baṣra but more in line with Medina.

5 Conclusion

The two case studies largely support scholarly assumptions about the geographical origins of contemporary law schools. As expected, Ḥanafī practice generally aligns with that of Kūfa, while Ḥanbalī practice fits within a broader ʿIrāqī context. Shāfiʿī practice related to the *basmala* and the *qunūt* is attested in Medina. In the case of the *basmala*, however, the Shāfiʿī position is more in line with Kūfa. This might suggest that al-Shāfiʿī was not particularly beholden to a particular region. The results in the Imāmī and Zaydī cases were also largely expected given the disjuncture between the location of each community (i.e., Kūfa) and the residence of their Imāms (i.e., Medina). The Imāmīs align most closely with Medina for the *basmala* and Kūfa for the placement of the *qunūt* (i.e., before the *rukū*ʿ). There was, however, a notably discrepancy in identifying those prayers during which the *qunūt* was performed. The Imāmī practice of extending the *qunūt* to all

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

prayers was present in the Kūfan traditions but found the greatest support in the Baṣran traditions. As mentioned in the previous section, however, Imāmī traditions favoring the school's position (not considered here) are all on the authority of Medinan Imāms. Zaydī practice aligns with Kūfa for the *basmala* and is divided between Medina (Hādawī) and Kūfa (Nāṣirī) for the *qunūt*. Finally,

Table 8: Assessing the Regional/Law School Association (Case Study # 2 – *Qunūt*)

Law school	Geographical associations	Correlation?	Strength (prayers)	Strength (placement)
Ḥanafīs	Kūfa	Present	Majority position (*witr qunūt*) *Minority position* (*fajr qunūt*)	Majority position (before)
Mālikīs	Medina	Present	Majority position (*witr qunūt*) *Minority position* (*fajr qunūt*)	Majority position (after – *witr*) *Minority position* (before – *fajr*)
Shāfiʿīs	Medina	Present	Majority position (*witr qunūt*) *Minority position* (*fajr qunūt*)	Majority position (after – *witr*)
Ḥanbalīs	ʿIrāq (regional)	Present [best fit: Baṣra]	Majority position (*witr qunūt*)	Majority position (after – *witr*)
Imāmīs	Kūfa (community) and Medina (Imāms)	Present [best fit: Kūfa]	*Minority position (all prayers)* [Note: Baṣra has more traditions in favor of *qunūt* in all prayers.]	Majority position (before)
Hādawī Zaydīs	Kūfa (community) and Medina (Imāms)	Present [best fit: Medina]	Majority position (*witr qunūt*) Minority position (*fajr qunūt*)	Majority position (after)
Nāṣirī Zaydīs	Kūfa (community) and Medina (Imāms)	Present [best fit Kūfa]	Minority position (*fajr*, *maghrib*, *ʿishāʾ qunūt*) [Note: Baṣra has more traditions in favor of *qunūt* in these prayers.]	Majority position (before)

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Mālikī practice for the *basmala* and the *qunūt* is present in the Medinan reports. In the case of the *basmala*, however, the Mālikī position (unexpectedly) appears to be a minority view in Medina and the majority view in Baṣra.

As a whole, our assumptions about the law schools fare well. There are some complications associated with the Imāmīs and the Mālikīs, but it remains to be seen whether these are systematic and recurring or whether they are just the product of a limited number of case studies. Further investigation of the Mālikī case might be of particular interest given (a) the centrality of the school's claims to Medina and (b) the potential influence of Baṣran practice. Another avenue for potential further research might involve deconstructing the claims of a fundamental legal divide between the Ḥijāz and ʿIrāq. There appear to be internal alignments that cut across simple regional divides, particularly a link between Medina and Baṣra. These are the only two cities with reports (a) in favor of the omitted *basmala* and (b) strongly advocating that the *qunūt* be placed after the *rukūʿ*. Kūfa also presents an interesting case in that it does not appear to overlap with the other centers on these two issues. Kūfan reports endorse two contradictory positions on the *basmala* (indicating strong internal divisions) and advocate a largely distinctive placement of the *qunūt* (i.e., before the *rukūʿ*). Perhaps Kūfa was characterized by a unique legal diversity?[74]

In closing, it is important to reiterate that this study is meant to model a method for using a category of sources that have recently been dated to the early 2nd/8th century. These traditions are typically not concerned with historical narrative and focus instead on law. I have tried to show how these traditions might be utilized to derive historical information and, in particular, reconstruct the ritual practice of important early Muslim urban centers. This endeavor is fraught with potential problems (as described above) and the current study is best viewed as a tentative first step in a prolonged process. It does, however, demonstrate the power and possibility of engaging the sources with new questions and creative methods.

74 For discussion of a Kūfan stream of jurisprudence that may have survived in a singular Zaydī legal text, see Najam Haider, "A Kūfan Jurist in Yemen," *Arabica*, 59 (2012), 200–217.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Appendix – Data Tables

Data Table 1a: The Geography of the *Isnād*s (*Basmala*)

	Audible	Silent [(j-h-r) or (kh-f-y)]	Audible/ Silent*	Omitted [(q-r-'), (f-t-ḥ) or both]	Not Heard [(s-m-ʿ) with (q-w-l) and (q-r-')]	Overall
Mecca	×××××××××× ××	××	××××	None	None	18 Total 67 % audible 11 % silent 22 % either 0 % omitted 0 % not heard
Medina	×××××××××× ×××	××	×××	××××	None	22 Total 59 % audible 9 % silent 14 % either 18 % omitted 0 % not heard
Kūfa	×××××××××× ×××	×××××××××× ×××	×××××	None	None	31 Total 42 % audible 42 % silent 16 % either 0 % omitted 0 % not heard
Baṣra	×××××××××× ×	××××	None	×××××××××× ×××××××××× ××××××××××	×××××××××× ×	56 Total 20 % audible 7 % silent 0 % either 54 % omitted 20 % not heard

* These traditions assert that the *basmala* is not omitted, thereby supporting the audible or silent positions.

Note (a) that the total number of traditions on the chart exceed 127 because some traditions contain more than one opinion (these are listed twice) and (b) due to rounding up or down, sometimes the percentages in the final column exceed or fall short of 100 %.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

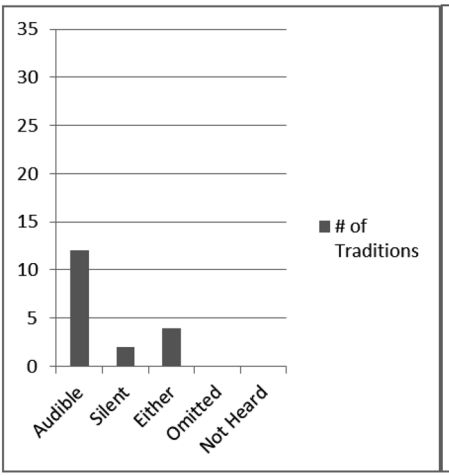
Data Table 1b: – Geography Summary (*Basmala*)

	Yes, recite *Basmala* (audible or silent)	**No, omit Basmala**
Mecca	67 % audible 11 % silent 22 % either	None
Medina	59 % audible 9 % silent 14 % either	18 % omit
Kūfa	42 % audible 42 % silent 16 % either	None
Baṣra	20 % audible 7 % silent	54 % omit 20 % not heard (suggestive of omission)

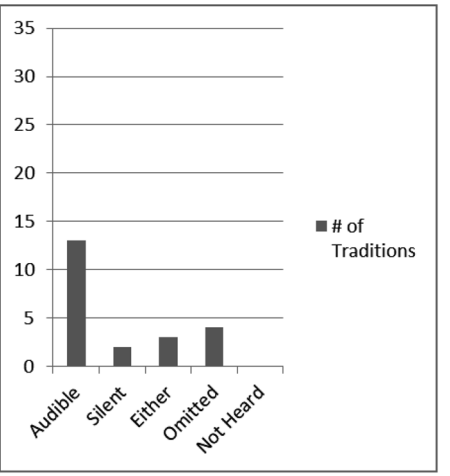
Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Charts 1a–d: City Positions on the *Basmala*

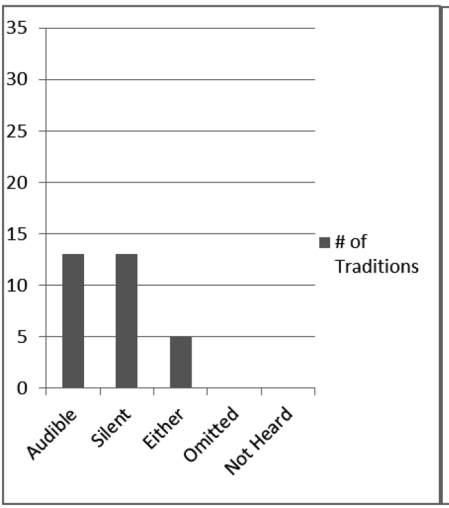
Mecca



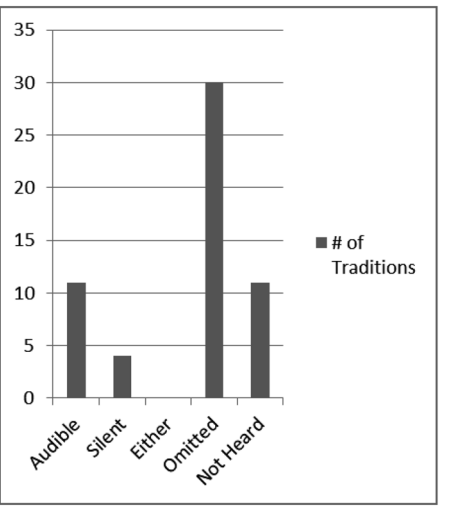
Medina



Kūfa



Baṣra



Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Data Table 2a: The Geography of the *Isnād*s (*Qunūt* Prayers)

	Fajr	*Ẓuhr*	*'Aṣr*	*Maghrib*	*'Ishā'*	*Witr*	Unspecified
Mecca	oooooooooo oo ××	O	o	None	o	oooo ×	oooo ××
Medina	ooooooooo ×××××××××× ××	o ×	×	×	ooo ××	oooo ×	oooooo ×××××
Kūfa	oooooooooo oooooooooo oooooooooo oooooooooo oooooooo ×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×××××××	o ×	o ×	oooooooooo oo ×	oo ×	oooooooooo ooooo ×	oooooooooo oooooooooo o ×××××××××× ××××
Baṣra	oooooooooo oooooooooo oooooooooo oooooooooo oooooooooo oooooooooo oo ×××××××××× ××××	ooooooo ××	××	oooooooooo ××	oooooooooo ××	oooooooooo ××	oooooooooo oooooooooo o ×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×××

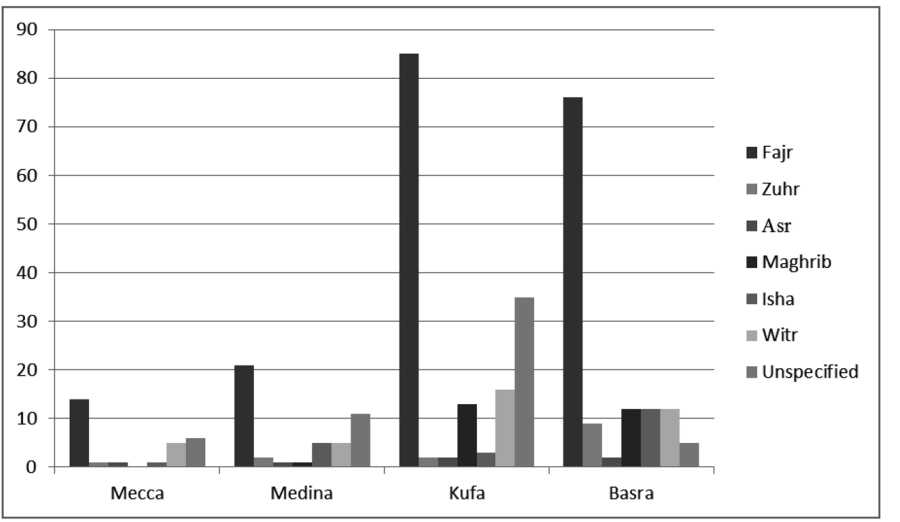
Key: Tradition in favor of *qunūt*, o; tradition opposed to *qunūt*, ×

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Data Table 2b: Geographical Positions By City/Prayer (*Qunūt*)

	Fajr	*Ẓuhr*	*'Aṣr*	*Maghrib*	*'Ishā'*	*Witr*	**Unspecified**
Mecca	14 total 86 % favor 14 % oppose	1 total 100 % favor 0 % oppose	1 total 100 % favor 0 % oppose	None	1 total 100 % favor 0 % oppose	5 total 80 % favor 20 % oppose	6 total 67 % favor 32 % oppose
Medina	21 total 43 % favor 57 % oppose	2 total 50 % favor 50 % oppose	1 total 0 % favor 100 % oppose	1 total 0 % favor 100 % oppose	5 total 60 % favor 40 % oppose	5 total 80 % favor 20 % oppose	11 total 55 % favor 45 % oppose
Kūfa	85 total 56 % favor 44 % oppose	2 total 50 % favor 50 % oppose	2 total 50 % favor 50 % oppose	13 total 92 % favor 8 % oppose	3 total 67 % favor 33 % oppose	16 total 94 % favor 6 % oppose	35 total 60 % favor 40 % oppose
Baṣra	76 total 82 % favor 18 % oppose	9 total 78 % favor 22 % oppose	2 total 0 % favor 100 % oppose	12 total 83 % favor 17 % oppose	12 total 83 % favor 17 % oppose	12 total 83 % favor 17 % oppose	5 total 48 % favor 52 % oppose

Chart 2: Distribution of Interest in the *Qunūt*

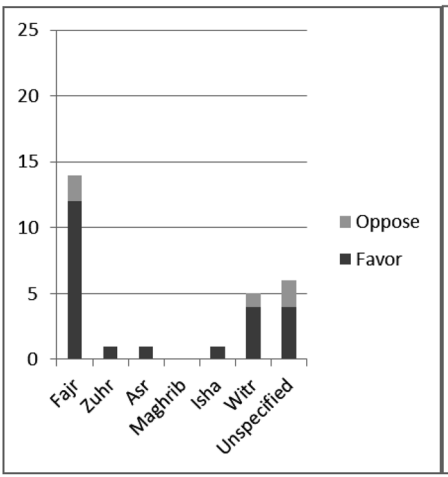


The y-axis represents the number of traditions addressing a given prayer related in each city.

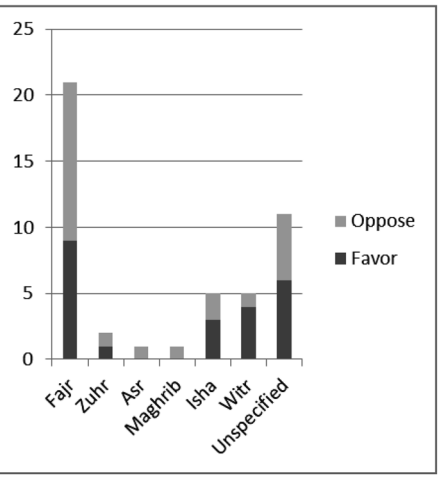
Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Charts 3a–d: City Positions on the *Qunūt* in Prayers

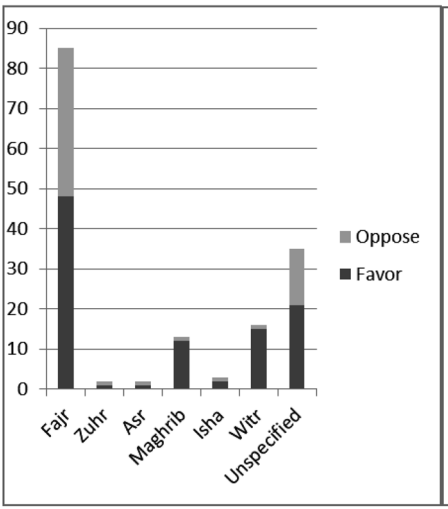
Mecca



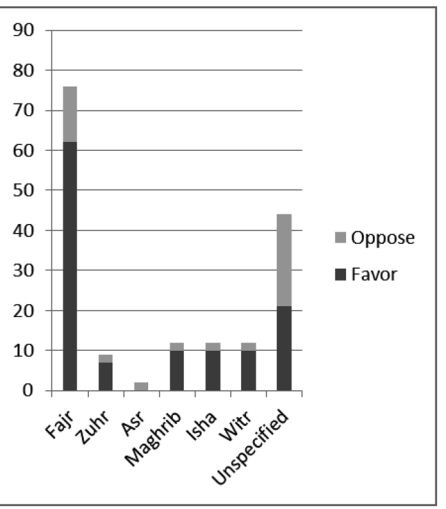
Medina



Kūfa



Baṣra



The y-axis represents the number of traditions. Note the differences in scale between the two Ḥijāzī cities (Mecca and Medina) and the two ʿIrāqī cites (Kūfa and Baṣra). This difference is necessitated by the numerical disparity in traditions associated with each region.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Data Table 4: The Geography of the *Isnād*s (*Qunūt* Placement)

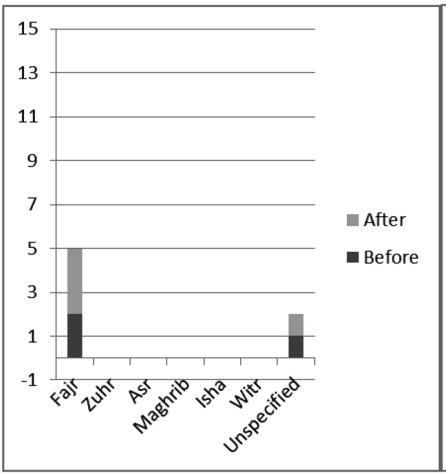
	Fajr	***Ẓuhr***	***'Aṣr***	***Maghrib***	***'Ishā'***	***Witr***	**Unspecified**
Mecca	oo ×××	None	None	None	None	None	o ×
Medina	o ×××××××××× ××	×	None	None	×××	×	×××
Kūfa	ooooooooooo ooooooo	None	None	o	None	oooooooo ×	oooo
Baṣra	ooooooo ×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×	××××××	××	× ×	×××××××××	××	×××××××××× ×××××××

Key: Tradition for *qunūt* before the *rukūʿ*, o; tradition for *qunūt* after the *rukūʿ*, ×

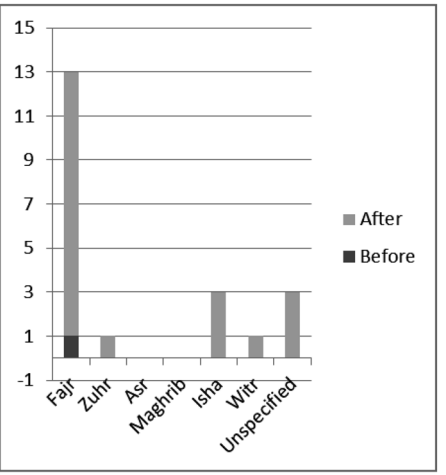
Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM

Charts 4a–d: City Positions on Placement of *Qunūt*

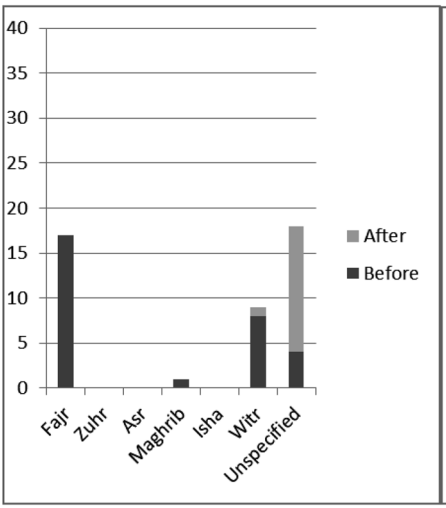
Mecca



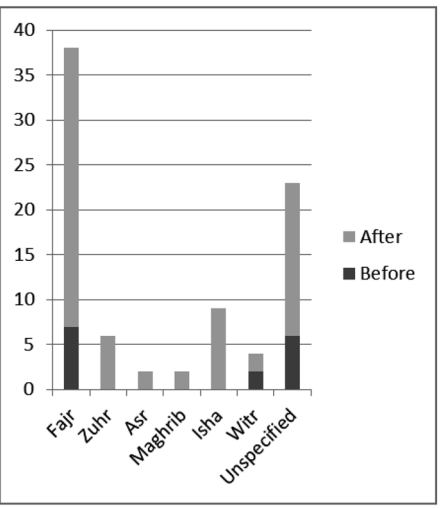
Medina



Kūfa



Baṣra



The y-axis represents the number of traditions. Note the differences in scale between the two Ḥijāzī cities (Mecca and Medina) and the two ʿIrāqī cites (Kūfa and Baṣra). This difference is necessitated by the numerical disparity in traditions associated with each region.

Brought to you by | Columbia University
Authenticated
Download Date | 11/18/15 12:16 AM